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THE

ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND ACTIVITIES

OF THE

UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY

OF AMERICA.

Washington, D. C.
July 15, 1921.

Respectfully submitted,

Special Assistant to the
Attorney General.

X-HX81 #2.

COMMUNIST CAMPAIGNER

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3
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WORKING CLASS

AGAINST BOSS CLASS

VOTE COMMUNIST

Election Campaign Committee C.P.U.S.A.
District #2.

2¢ AUG. 1931. COPY A

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VOICE of LABOR

VOL. 1, No. 1. NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 1, 1933. 5c A COPY

#3

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Revive the Communist Movement

The Workers Communist League is a Communist organization adhering to the fundamental principles of the International Communist movement.

It maintains that the policies and tactics pursued by the Communist International and its sections are destructive to the movement and prevent the winning of the masses for Communism.

It further maintains that a continuation of the present line and tactics will further disintegrate the Communist movement and greatly deepen the crisis in which it finds itself.

The Workers Communist League declares that at a time, when due to the economic crisis, the objective factors are most favorable for Communist growth, the direct opposite has taken place. The Communist movement has been receiving one blow after another. The latest defeat in Germany, clearly indicates that a thoro overhauling of policies must take place.

Furthermore, the Workers Communist League is determined to carry on a vigorous fight against the policies responsible for the disruption and defeat of the movement. Such a fight is absolutely necessary if a revival of the movement is to take place.

The overcoming of the crisis in the Communist movement is therefore the main task before the Communists.

What is the basis of the crisis? The crisis in the International Communist movement is due to the following two main factors:

1. The policies of the Stalin regime for the Soviet Union and for the Communist International are fundamentally wrong, and have proven disastrous in the Soviet Union and in the Communist International.

2. The Communist International is built on a wrong organizational principle. The principle that the Russian leaders must have a monopoly of the leadership, the sole and decisive leadership in the Communist International, is fundamentally wrong and contrary to the principles of Internationalism upon which the movement must stand.

We can no longer be satisfied with the status quo. Our old formulas and dogmas do not fit into the new situation created by the events in Germany. We cannot take lightly the victory of Hitler and what it means to the labor movement. The international working class has been weakened and the Soviet Union accordingly. The fact that the largest trade union, socialist and Communist organizations in capitalist Europe have been crushed or occupied is bound to have far reaching consequences for the revolutionary working class movement. Reaction and fascism have been strengthened. The attacks upon the working class and their organizations will be intensified. The forces of counter revolution have been strengthened thus hastening intervention. War also looms.

The aggregation of International developments heading the world towards major historical events confronts the International Communist movement with prodigious tasks and great responsibilities. But the International Communist movement is in no position to play the role that is expected of it. It is impotent and bankrupt.

What happened in Germany exposes the bankruptcy of the Communist International and the Stalin leadership. Why did the German masses oppressed by capitalist conditions, impoverished and starved out by the crisis go to Fascism and not to Communism? Why did the proletariat fail to win the support of the petty bourgeois masses and the farmers for its program? How did it happen that a Communist Party that polled six million votes allowed itself to be crushed and outlawed without a fight?

The only conclusion that can be reached is that there is something fundamentally wrong with the Communist movement, its policies, tactics and leadership. Communists must face this fact frankly, courageously and with a desire to go to the roots of the trouble.

After very careful consideration of all the factors involved in the crisis of the Communist movement, the Workers Communist League has reached the following conclusions:

1. That the Stalin regime must be held accountable for its wrong and harmful policies and criminal actions, in splitting, weakening and disrupting the movement.

2. That the present line of the Communist International must be abandoned and its sectarian, disruptive policies in the labor movement discarded.

3. That in the question of the United Front it shall be always kept in the foreground, that this tactic is not a manouvre, but is demanded out of consideration of the necessity of achieving the broadest unity required in the labor movement to fight against fascism and capitalist conditions.

4. That serious consideration must be given to the winning of the petty bourgeois masses, especially the peasantry, for a common struggle against fascism, capitalist conditions and imperialist war.

5. That the unity of the Communist movement depends also upon the courage of the Communists to refuse to accept the principle of the domination of the Communist International by the Russian Communist leaders. Their sole leadership of the International and their policies prove how erroneous and how dangerous this principle is. We need in all countries Communist Parties that arise out of the conditions and needs of the country in which they respectively operate. Communist Parties must be rooted in the soil of their country and expressive of the aspirations of its masses. There can be no real fundamental eradication of the crisis in the Communist International unless the system of Russian domination ends. It stifles initiative in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries and prevents the development of a self-reliant leadership that can take the initiative, formulate policies and do things in an emergency, so essential for the development of a revolutionary movement. Only through the establishment of a genuine collective leadership can a real international Communist movement exist.

6. It calls upon the Communist Opposition to unite in a block in opposition to the Stalin leadership for the purpose of unifying, consolidating, and reviving the movement.

7. It calls attention to the fact that the Communists cannot wait until the present policies of the Communist International completely wreck and doom the movement. That the forces must be gathered for the building of new Communist Parties on a new basis, as the best guarantee for bringing about a fundamental change and overhauling in the Communist movement. Only the organized pressure of the masses through positive action and achievement can succeed in this direction. The building up of powerful new, Communist Parties, assures a united strengthened international Communist movement.

Specifically for the United States we propose, in addition to the above the following:

1. A fight against the disruptive activity of the official Communist Party. Against the policy of characterizing as social fascists all Socialist and trade union organizations not under Communist domination. Against all mere united front manouvers, against sectarianism, dual unionism, and policies of splitting mass organizations.

2. That we propose that the Communists in the United States shall actively work for the formation of a Labor Party, because the formation of a Labor Party marks a big step forward for the working class, will arouse and set the working class in motion and completely change the political aspects of the country, giving the Communists within such a movement an opportunity to lead the masses in the direction of revolutionary action.

The Workers Communist League calls upon the members of the Communist Party, upon all Communists who are outside of the official party as well as Communist sympathizers, upon all militant and progressive workers in the labor movement to support its program for the unification of the Communist and labor movement.

WORKERS COMMUNIST LEAGUE

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"SPEAKERS OUTLINE

September 19, 1934. #4
DISTRICT RESEARCH COMMITTEE. Vol.2. No. 16.

These bulletins must be filed and kept for specific use during election campaign. All criticisms are welcome. Send suggestions to campaign office for immediate action.

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GOVERNOR HERBERT LEHMAN.

CAPITALIST STATESMAN

On January 3, 1933, Herbert J Lehman resigned as a partner of Lehman Bros., one of the largest banking and investment firms in the country. This was a gesture to indicate that now that he was a governor his interests would not longer be that of the bankers, but of the people. But this resignation was a mere formality. He retains his private fortune, connections with bankers and industrialists, and is himself a leading finance capitalists Previous to public life, he was vice-president and treasurer of the J Spencer Turner Co. of Brklyn, a textile manufacturing plant. During War, he was a captain in the US Army and Colonel on General Staff.

"I sincerely believe that the prosperity of the world to a considerable extent during the next few decades will depend on the speed and completeness with which older manufacturing countries can secure markets in non-industrial territory of the Near East, Far East, India and certain parts of South America. New markets can be secured only through intelligent cooperation between our business leaders and our government officials."
(Lehman--American Mercury-Sept 1934.page 12)

LEHMAN THE BANKER IS ONE OF THE LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR COLONIAL EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION.

(It has just been learned from unimpeachable sources that Lehman Bros. through the Commercial National Bank have granted a loan of $100,000 to fascist Germany for the purchase of wheat. Lehman Bros. are the organizers and majority stock holders in this bank. The majority of stock holders are Jewish.)(see below for more on tie-up with fascist Hitler.)

BANKER IN OFFICE -- "ECONOMY PROGRAM".

Typical of a banker in office, he points with pride to his 'economy program'. Such a program hits the small business man, the petty middle class, the farmers, the workers and the school system.

INCREASED TAXATION FOR WORKERS.--His first move was to lower the exemption for State Income tax from $4000 to $ 2500 for married persons; and from $2500 to $1000 for single persons.-instead of increased taxes on higher brackets, he increases taxes for workers.

SALES TAX-- Next he recommended a sales tax on manufactured articles, gasoline, clothing, furniture, and tools.--which is inevitably shifted on to working class.

PAY CUTS FOR STATE CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES.** His 'economy program' called for pay cuts for State Civil Service employees earning $2000 or more. Their mandatory increases were suspended for second successive year--here he hits at white collar workers.

PROTECTS PROFITS OF TRUSTS.--Lehman refused to recommend a 4% tax on the gross earnings of public utilities(there is now ½ of 1% tax). The raise to 4% would have brought in $35,000,000. During the year the utilities had earned $35,000,000 above the 6% profit supposedly allowed by State regulation.

SCHOOLS--During the special session of the State Legislature in July, '34, Lehman was forced to throw the question of increased State aid for schools to the legislature. He did not recommend any action, except to say that if the legislature voted the $13,000,000 emergency State aid for education, they must also pass a tax bill to raise the sum. Legislature revived Lehman's 1% gross tax on incomes, hitting small incomes.

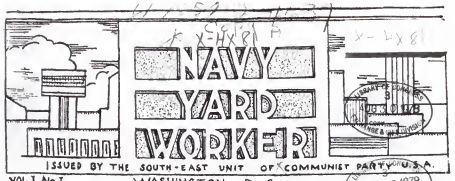
BREAKS MILK STRIKE

In January of this year 45,000 farmers of NYState struck for cost of production price for milk. Lehman's Milk Control Board, which was set up to control production of milk and protect the monopoly prices of the big milk trusts, refused to grant the farmers' demand. Lehman broke the strike through the use of the State Militia. Armed troops escorted the big milk companies' trucks and prevented effective picketing by farmers. Lehman refused the strikers' offer of a week's truce.

Lehman said the strike was "not the usual conflict between worker and employer. It is a strike to nullify and defy the authority of the State itself." State police took the cue. When the Mayor of Boonville protested against the State Troopers violence in beating up strikers, Lehman answered, "If in the performance of their duties, persons are injured the fault will be theirs."

(Issued by a Communist "fraction" and distributed among workers in Navy Yard, Washington, D. C., April, 1934)

#5



MASS ACTIONS FORCE 10% WAGE RETURN!

D.A.R. — NAVY YARD WORKER ANSWERS YOU

Letter To Navy Yard Workers

Brothers:

The D.A.R. is casting a very bad reflsotion upon the intelligence of us Navy Yard workers. They speak as though we aren't capable of judging for ourselves the organizations best suited for our needs.

Why did the D.A.R. remain silent when our wages were being cut to a bare existence and our leave being taken away? Why are they now rushing to our rescue to save us from the clutches of these "Big bad reds"? These reds were ready to assist us when wages were being cut, and they also distributed leaflets suggesting a program of action which has proven to be the only way our conditions can be bettered.

Several weeks ago Mr. Hearst had the Japanese over on the west coast just about ready to invade the U. S. but since he was very successful in obtaining fat contracts for these private munition manufacturers of which he no doubt is a big stock holder. He has now sent the Japanese back to Japan, so now he must fill this empty newspaper space with some other such story.

As for the reds stirring up discontent in the Navy Yard, discontent was started July 1, 1932 when our wages were cut 8 1/3% and our thirty days leave discontinued and further by another 6 1/3% April 1. Then on top of that a furlough of 1½ day per week last fall which means another 8 1/3% loss of wages making a total loss of 23%.

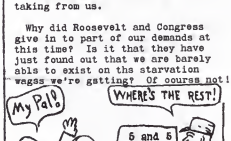
In closing brothers, I ask you who seems to be interested in bettering our conditions, the D. A. R. or the Communist Party?

By A Navy Yard Worker.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROPOSES PROGRAM OF ACTION TO REGAIN FULL WAGES

We have just won back part of what they took from us when our wages were cut 15%. We're getting back 10% plus a 40 hour week with out a reduction in pay. This is still 10% less than we were getting just before the cut, when we consider the 15 days leave they're taking from us.

Why did Roosevelt and Congress give in to part of our demands at this time? Is it that they have just found out that we are barely able to exist on ths starvation wages we're getting? Of course not!



They know fully well that even in the so-called "prosperity" days, getting full wages, we could barely make ends meet. They know that inflation and the Blue Eagle are boosting prices as high as 50%. They are aware that this means more suffering for us, yet all this winter nothing was done about it. Only now do they give us just part of what is coming to us. WHY DID WE GET BACK PART OF OUR CUT?

Because a large section of the 7000,000 government employees have carried thru MASS ACTIONS demanding their full wages. Because this MASS PRESSURE has expressed itself in many militant forms to show the Roosevelt Gov't that we do not like the cut, and won't take it lying down.

This determination to struggle was shown thru numerous protest actions... Mass meetings were held in many cities, passing resolutions opposing ths cut.

(continued on Pags 2)

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BOLSHEVISM
— OR —
COMMUNISM

On The Question of a New
COMMUNIST PARTY
and the
"FOURTH" INTERNATIONAL

United Workers Party of America

1934

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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

Among Enlisted Men in the Army and Navy of the United States and Among Workers in Navy Yards

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"THE SOLDIERS' VOICE", "Issued by and for enlisted men", a Communist "fraction" within the ranks, December, 1933, pictures Russian privates and officers together socially, "something you don't see in the United States Army", praises the Soviet Union as "a fine example to the workers of the rest of the world", as "giving a better life and doing away with misery and slavery imposed by the ruling class", and it indicates how we soldiers can throw out our exploiters and oppressors, the capitalist class, and take things into our own hands".

This eight-page tabloid was distributed in large quantities among the soldiers, notably at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, wtih a view to stirring up as many soldier grievances as possible. It wound up with the declaration that "the bosses of the United States plan to send us soldiers to destroy the Soviet Union".

"THE SHIPMATES' VOICE", "Issued by and for sailors and marines", a Communist "fraction", April-May, 1934 was found on shipboard in the Pacific Fleet. It is an eight-page paper in tabloid form, attacking the President of the United States and the Government itself stressing the "slashing of pay", "cutting off of bonuses", "bad living conditions", "cost of upkeep of uniforms", etc., and upbraids Secretary Swanson for taking the Fleet to the ports of his own State, Virginia, "in the interest of local business". "The Shipmates' Voice" not only assails big business and capital but argues against re-enlisting and idealizes the Soviet Red Army, contrasting the "rigidly imposed discipline from on high which is the rule of capitalist armies with the self-imposed discipline of the Red Army". It pictures advantages to workers and farmers in the Russian Workers' Republic and states that "only by doing away with the capitalist class can we workers and sailors follow in the path of the successful working class of the Soviet Union".

It has been learned that "The Shipmates' Voice" will be distributed by young women offering it for sale to the men in the Navy when the Fleet arrives on the Atlantic Coast. This is the method of feminine appeal pursued in the Communist effort to penetrate the Army in Germany where attractive young girls were used to approach the officers and soldiers in cafés and elsewhere. The tactics are the same throughout the world.

"THE NAVY YARD WORKER", "Issued by the South East Unit of the Communist Party U. S. A., Washington, D. C." by an inside Communist "fraction", April, 1934, was distributed among the workers in the Navy Yard there.

It contains cartoon sketches demanding "full wages", attacking the N R A, cartooning President Roosevelt for "jingoism" in the "old Army game" and also the A. F. of L. "misleaders". It aims to create discontent in the Navy Yard by attacking "wage cuts, discontinuance of thirty days' leave", etc., advocates "mass action to win restoration of wage cuts and improve conditions", urges "building inside groups for a militant program" and "effective action to prevent the rich ruling class from driving us into another slaughter". It states: **"Only Through Getting Rid of This Parasitic Class and Setting Up a Government Run by and in the Interests of Labor Can We Get the Full Benefit of Our Labor".**

"THE YARD VOICE" was distributed among Brooklyn Navy Yard workers in February according to "The Daily Worker" which announced:

> "Of course it will be the most important means for opening the eyes of the Navy Yard workers to class consciousness, and rally them for the final aim of the Communist Party—the overthrow of the capitalist system and **The Establishment of a Soviet America with All That Implies".**

Identical paragraphs are published in three of these papers in defense of the Soviet Union, indicating that they emanate from a single source.

New York, May 9, 1934.

DISTRICT CONVENTION
DISTRICT NO.2

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June 13, 1936

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON UNEMPLOYED WORK

The retreat of the Roosevelt Administration under the pressure of reaction organized around the Liberty League and Republican Party is causing widespread misery to the unemployed and W. P. A. workers. The concessions won by unemployed through years of militant struggle and organization are seriously threatened today.

Strenghened by their unification into one single national organization, W. A. A., which becoming to the unemployed workers what the A.F. of L. is to the employed workers, militant resistance to the increasing attacks upon relief standards is being developed throughout the country.

In the coming elections, the question of relief will be one of the major issues.

Our entire Party, in the trade unions, unemployed organizations, mass organizations and in the neighborhood is faced with greater responsibility and tasks to defeat the relief-slashing program of the reactionaries.

In the struggle against war and fasciam and for the peoples' front, the Farmer-Labor Party, the struggle for maintenance and expansionof direct and work relief, Frazier-Lundeen and the Marcantonio Bills, and American Youth Act becomes a central task.

In the works of our Central Committee work amongst the unemployed now becomes on par with trade union work.

The report and tasks as given by Comrade Wiseman must serve as a basis for the work of our Party in the New York District.

The following are our tasks:

(1) A special Party conference of Trade Union leaders, fraction secretaries and Section Bureau members shall be called following the Convention to discuss unemployed work on the basis of the District report and the decisions of the Convention.

(2) The building of the W.A.A. becomes a major task parallel to the building of the A. F. of L. The most energetic campaign must be carried on to bring about the speediest unification of the unemployed organizations into the Workers Alliance in New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, Nassau County. The building of locals of Workers Alliance throughout the state wherever possible. Preparations of the holding of a State Convention of Workers Alliance shall be made.

(3) All Party members unemployed or on W.P.A., not members of trade unions, shall be obligated to become members of the Workers Alliance (at present in N.Y., U. C. and P.W.U.)

(4) Comrades in leading work of the unemployed movement shall be attached to all Trade Union Committees in the Section and District.

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STATEMENT

of the

NEW YORK STATE Committee

on PARTY BUILDING Fund Drive

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TO ALL COUNTY, SECTION AND UNIT BUROS and ALL FRACTION SECRETARIES:

August 17, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

A **QUARTER OF A MILLION DOLLARS** to put life into the decisions of the June Plenum — this is the goal of the New York State Communist Party.

In the swiftly maturing progressive movement in the United States today, our Party faces historic tasks. It must provide the theoretical and practical leadership — it must blaze the trail — for every movement of the workers for their immediate demands.

As we move forward toward the formation of a People's Front against reaction, and in defense of the workers' right to an American standard of living, our Party must gear up its machinery. As we push ahead for progressive industrial unionism and for labor unity; as we shape the growing movement for an effective peace policy and in defense of Spanish Democracy, **our Party must prepare to become the dynamo of all these progressive currents.**

The key to the growth of our Party, in the words of the Central Committee, is in the development of "the independent role of the Party — to popularize our Party, its policies and program among the broad masses — to bring forward boldly our perspectives and aims." Above all this means indicating and stressing "the relationship between the present mass movements and the struggle for socialism."

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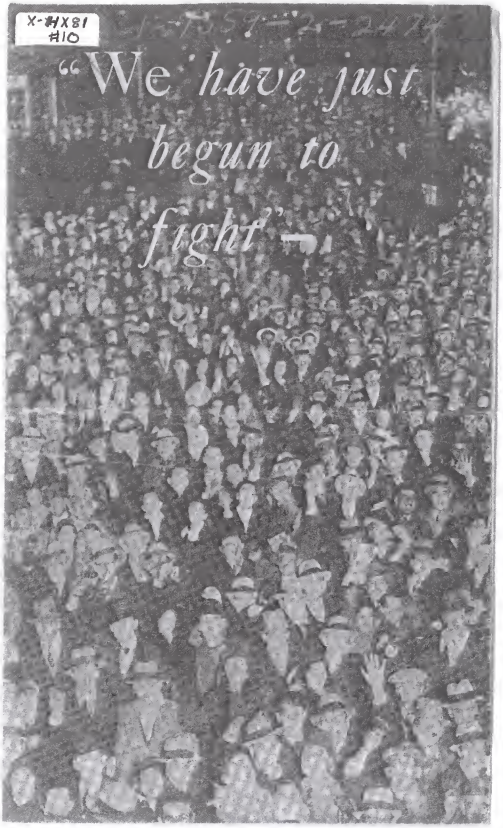

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Celebrate INDEPENDENCE DAY

In the Best Traditions of Our Country

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One hundred fifty-two years ago this July 4th, the American people adopted the Declaration of Independence. Before the whole world they stated in immortal words that doctrine which is the basis of all true Americanism—*"that all men are created equal,"* that they are *"endowed with inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."*

The story of how our ancestors came to adopt that Declaration is part of the tradition of all free men; it is the inspiration of all who have since fought for freedom in every part of the globe. Threatened in everything they held dear by the tyranny of British reaction, the colonists of America united their ranks in defense of their lives and liberties. Although there were many even in the colonies who openly or secretly opposed and attempted to split the forces of the revolutionists, their unity was their guarantee of victory through the long and arduous years of struggle.

Unity of the People Established Democracy in America

Today again, as in 1776, the liberties of the people of America are threatened. Not from across the sea alone, but from our very midst the cohorts of greed and privilege, the Tories of our day are plotting their attack upon the people of the United States.

The great trusts and corporations, owned and controlled by the 60 families of Wall Street, have deliberately precipitated upon us the horrors of a new crisis when every possibility of further recovery from the crisis of 1929 still existed. They are doing this out of their

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#12

PROBLEMS OF PARTY BUILDING

FOR EVIDENTIARY PURPOSES
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by ALEX BITTELMAN

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LOOKING FORWARD

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American Medical Association
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#15

The Doctor and the People's Health

The A.M.A. is the largest medical organization in the world. Its influence is incalculable and for that reason it is tremendously important that it be on the correct side of vital questions concerning the profession and the public.

At its recent convention in St. Louis, the American Medical Association, through its House of Delegates, expressed its disapproval of the National Health Bill, introduced in the Senate by Robert F. Wagner of New York.

What is the National Health Bill and what does it aim to do?

In 1938 the U.S. Public Health Service completed a survey involving 2,800,000 persons, in 84 cities and 23 rural areas, a huge cross section of this country, regarding the distribution of medical care. Medical statisitics that could reasonably be said to apply to the entire country did not exist prior to this survey, and it is the data found in this survey that was used as the basis for working out the national health program and the Wagner Health Act of 1939, now pending before the Senate of the United States.

The figures and facts found by this survey indicate that the U.S. does not have the physical facilities to care for its sick. In vast farm areas encompassing 18 million people and 40% of all counties there are no hospitals, private or public. Less than one-third of all American counties, and an even smaller proportion of cities, have full-time health officers. One thousand counties do not have a single public health nurse. In the cities and rural sections where hospitals do exist they are able to serve less than 50% of those for whom they were intended.

The data revealed that every year 250,000 American mothers bring babies into the world with no doctors in attendance. In the cities, 39% do not go to hospitals; in rural districts the figure is 86%. Of the 250,000 having no doctors, 15,000 are delivered by friends, relatives, and the remainder by midwives, for the most part ignorant and untrained.

The President's committee report on national health, sent to Congress on January 23rd, found that the losses occasioned by sickness, disability and premature death amount to approximately 10 billions of dollars a year; that the need for a national health program was evidenced in a massive and unnecessary burden of sickness, death and poverty.

The committee's survey showed what we have always known; that the poor are sick more often than the rich, and that the rich, who need it less, receive the greater share of medical treatment. On this the committee survey is explicit. There are 5 income groups: families on relief; families not on relief but receiving less than $1000 a year; those with incomes between $1000 and $2000; between $2000 and $3000; and the group over $3000.

70

Detroit
Dennis
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CHICAGO POLITICAL HANDBOOK

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COMMUNIST PARTY · 208 NORTH WELLS ST · CHICAGO

PRICE 50c

JANUARY 1939

X-HX 81

BROWDER'S Message to America

#117
SEP 21 1978

Speech of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, before the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Peace Federation, Thursday, Dec. 14, 1939.

Friends and Fellow-Americans:

It seems to be agreed, rather generally, that the outcome of the present war, in which more than half the population of the world is directly involved through their governments, will determine what kind of a world we will live in for many generations. It is also becoming obvious that the chief immediate question before the American people is to determine our attitude toward and our relation to the war. It is directly to these questions that I wish to direct my attention and yours.

There has been much public controversy recently as to whether audiences sh[illegible] permitted to listen to what I have [illegible] questions. The largest newspapers [illegible] greed that some way must [illegible] om making [illegible] addresse[illegible] a- [illegible] m[illegible]

refused to cancel my meeting there under the auspices of the Peace Council, this was so extraordinary as to create a national sensation. The First Lady published a denunciation of myself and Gil Green, leader of the Communist youth movement, as agents of a foreign power, and suggested that we should go back where we came from. Altogether, a quite exceptional importance has come to be attached to my words, all of which can be explained only as a typical example of war hysteria and the determination of powerful forces that our country shall decide the issues of war or peace without hearing or considering the point of view of the Communist Party for which I speak.

The Real Issue Is Peace

This attempt to suppress ideas and their free expression is such a sharp departure from the best American tradition that it shamefacedly tries to hide under pretexts of routine enforcement of the criminal laws. That is why I am indicted under passport laws. But even here, the truth is [illegible] tically hidden from the public. Un- [illegible] of each hundred of my present [illegible] the newspaper story that I [illegible] the use of false, or [illegible] ts. That is a complete [illegible] paper editorial offices [illegible] re is no such charge [illegible] ould not be.

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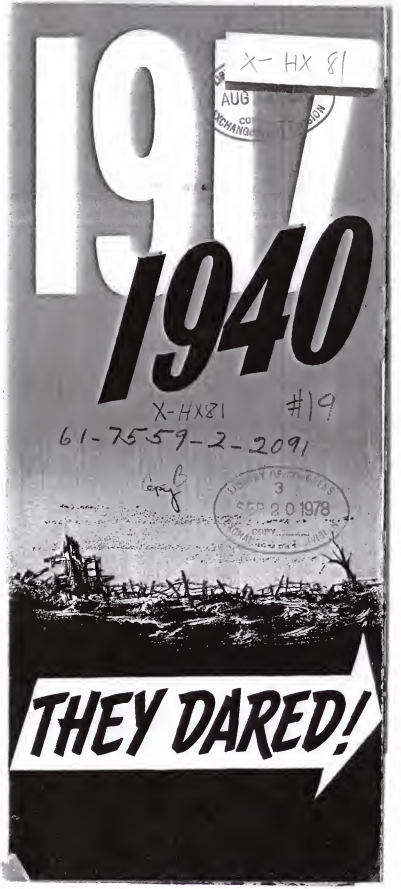
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How to Keep U.S. Out

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#21

A Letter from M. Raport and H. Huff

#2

THE DISCUSSION IN MINNEAPOLIS

About a month ago, on January 3, 1940, Cannon sent out one of his caucus circulars in the name of the Political Committee, addressed to all locals and branches of the party. With mock indignation, he protested against "the tour of comrade Shachtman, in the course of which he is speaking at party membership meetings on the internal dispute in the party". It appears that Shachtman had not notified Cannon of his "tour" and his "itinerary". The P.C., wrote Cannon, "has no objection whatever to representatives of the minority presenting their point of view before any party organizations which desire to hear them. However, we think it is far better for such meetings to be arranged through official party channels so that representatives of both sides can be provided for and the members will have a better opportunity to choose between the two positions presented in fair debate."

Now, it is true that Shachtman visited a number of cities a month ago on a "tour"; moreover, the tour was not official, but a faction tour, during which Shachtman discussed with comrades of the Minority at Minority caucus meetings. No secret was made of this fact. Indeed, Shachtman informed Cannon of the tour prior to his departure. Where local party organizations organized discussion meetings for him, however, without his request, Shachtman saw to it that the discussion took the form of a debate with an official majority representative. Thus, in Chicago, at the Y.P.S.L. meeting, a debate with Larsen; at the S.W.P. membership meeting, a debate with Goldman.

Is there anything abnormal in this procedure? Only to the extent that a factional struggle is "abnormal". Many times in the past when Shachtman and Cannon were united in one faction, Shachtman made many such "tours" with Cannon's enthusiastic approval, and without the official blessings of the Political Committee. Furthermore, in these past cases, Cannon simply forgot to insist that when Shachtman (or he, Cannon) went on such tours, a representative of the other faction should under all circumstances go along. His recollection of this "necessity" in the present factional dispute would be a tribute to the recuperative powers of his conscience were it not for the fact that (a) Larsen and Geidel have gone to speak to the Streator branch without insisting that a Minority representative go along with them so that there might be a "fair debate"; (b) that Gordon has gone to speak in Philadelphia week in - week out without insisting on the same thing; (c) that Goldman has just recently spoken in St. Louis without heeding the new Cannonite injunction; and (d) that none of them took the trouble to provide the P.C. with their "itineraries".

Since Cannon is so concerned with giving the membership a "better opportunity to choose between the two positions presented in fair debate", let us ask: What about the Twin City party organization, Minneapolis and St. Paul? How has the discussion been carried on there? How has the fair debate gone on? Let us examine two letters.

While in Chicago, Shachtman, on January 4, 1940, wrote the following letter to Oscar Coover, Minneapolis party organizer:

"Dear Comrade Oscar:

"If it is at all possible, I should like to have an informal meeting of the Twin City comrades to discuss the dispute in the party from my point of view. I stress the word 'informal' and not a formal, regular meeting of the branch, because I am not at present on an official party tour. I hasten to add that my presence in Chicago

MINNESOTA ANSWERS THE MINORITY X-Mx 81

#23

Dear Comrades:

On Thursday, February 22nd, at a specially called party meeting held in Minneapolis, Comrade Shachtman's recent document, "The Discussion in Minneapolis," was read and discussed before over one hundred comrades from Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa and Nebraska. The following motion was then adopted by unanimous vote:

WHEREAS, Comrade Shachtman has written and circulated throughout the party a document entitled "The Discussion in Minneapolis", and

WHEREAS, this document, designed to besmirch the Minnesota section of the party, is composed of vile insinuations, half-truths, distortions and outright falsifications, and

WHEREAS, the comrades of the Minnesota party are proud of the role of this section in the Left Opposition and the Fourth Internationalist movements from the earliest days, and

WHEREAS, the defense of this record from Comrade Shachtman's accusations and insinuations requires a clear factual statement to the party,

THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the Minnesota membership in formal meeting assembled on February 22, 1940, elect a committee for the purpose of drafting such a statement.

After adoption of the resolution a committee of three was elected, which has drafted this answer to Shachtman.

1. Shachtman implies that the comrades in the Twin Cities are slighting the discussion, not taking it seriously, that only one discussion meeting has been held, that the P.C. hasn't "heard anything about it officially or anything about plans for further meetings".

The facts are, as revealed in the branch and executive committee minutes (which are available to the P.C. and hence to the minority) that in Minneapolis SEVEN meetings have been devoted specially to the internal party dispute. In St. Paul FIVE meetings have been devoted to the internal dispute. In addition THREE Twin City membership meetings have been devoted to the dispute. In addition, in St. Paul weekly Saturday-night informal meetings are held, attended by comrades in both cities, devoted exclusively to the internal discussion.

When one remembers that in addition to the regular stint of party and mass work performed here by our comrades, we have had the additional tasks of guiding the defense of the indicted WPA strikers (among whom are several of our comrades), of defending Local 544 in the fink suit, and of examining anew the Farmer-Labor Party, determining our policy in the coming St. Paul and state elections, and making all preparations to run our own party candidate for mayor in St. Paul, one can understand how baseless, how false, are the minority's accusations that the internal discussion has not been taken seriously here.

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#24

AMERICA NEEDS - - -
National and Social Security

Keep America Out of War by Helping to Restore Peace in the World and Defeating Fascism!

Our country is against war. It is interested in the preservation of peace for America, for Europe and for the world. What can America do to restore peace?

The United States is not directly involved in those rivalries which have led to the invasion of Poland. It is in the best position to exert its great moral and political influence to help check fascist aggression—to prevent new Munich betrayals, to help prevent the expansion of this new world war!

To be most effective America must first of all strengthen and reinforce her internal affairs. In this hour of crisis the urgent needs of our nation are:

—*American national and social security.*
—*Put America back to work.*
—*Maintain the American standard of living against all attacks.*
—*Guarantee rights of unionization, collective bargaining and trade union standards in all industries.*
—*Defend American Youth—the Defenders of America.*

To insure such a program it is necessary to have:

—*Unity of the American people around the New Deal and its Progressive policies.*
—*A Democratic front of the people to defeat tory reaction in 1940.*

To protect ourselves against the grasping hands of the war profiteering speculators, we must:

—*Curb the monopolists and profiteers.*
—*Nationalize the munitions industry.*
—*Replace the monopolists on the War Industries Board with representatives of the people.*

The only guarantee that this program for the American people will be carried out is to:

—*Defend and extend American democracy.*
—*Maintain freedom of speech, press and assembly. Protect the Bill of Rights.*
—*Put an end to all campaigns against Jews, Negroes, Catholics, and the foreign born as an offense against American unity and liberty.*
—*Defeat the attacks on the legality of the Communist Party as attacks against democracy and the unity of the people.*

To restore peace to the world, to defeat fascism, it is necessary immediately to:

—*Give full moral, diplomatic and economic help to the Polish people and those who help Poland defend her national independence.*
—*Embargo Japan and Germany for the defeat of fascist aggression and for establishing a democratic peace.*
—*Give all possible credits and material aid to China.*
—*Extend all help to the democratic forces in Spain and full aid to the Spanish refugees.*
—*Work for United States and Latin-America initiative, in collaboration with the Soviet Union, for a world peace conference.*
—*Strengthen the good neighbor policy as a bulwark of democracy and peace in the Americas.*
—*Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union.*
—*Defeat the plotters of a new Munich and their Trotskyite agents.*
—*Help the German people establish a democratic Germany.*
—*For the freedom and national independence of Czechoslovakia and Austria.*

These are the needs of the American people. They can be achieved if we are on guard against those profiteers in death, those tories and monopolists who would by their speculating increase misery and hunger, who are working overtime to curb and defeat a program of national and social security.

Build the Democratic Front of the People to Defeat Tory Reaction in 1940! For Jobs, Security, Democracy and Peace!

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION OR MORE COPIES WRITE OR COME TO—

Virginia State Committee Communist Party

212 NORTH ADAMS STREET PHONE 3-2004 RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

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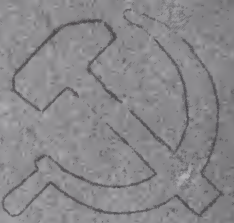
PROCEEDINGS
STATE NOMINATING CONVENTION



NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
APRIL 21, 1940

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW JERSEY

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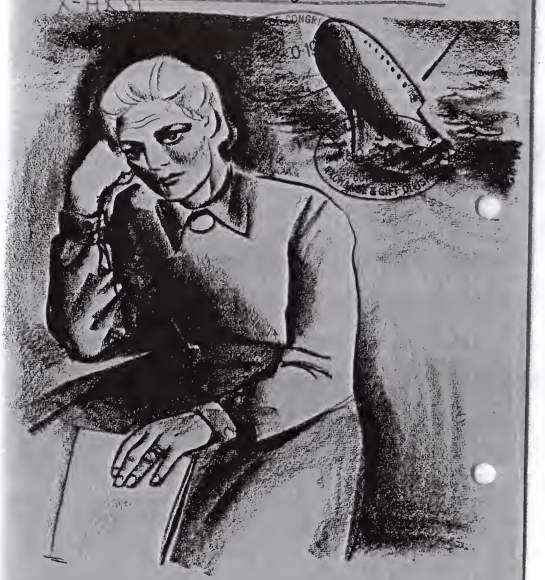
Mother's Day 1941



A Letter to Mother

X-HX 81

CALIFORNIA PARTY BUILDER

ISSUED BY CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY—121 HAIGHT ST., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

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#27

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This Is Our War

The war against Hitlerism is our war. The sooner the full reality of this reaches into the deepest consciousness of America's people, the quicker will America be able to deal the death-blow to the fascist machine.

Significant evidence is accumulating throughout the country that the people are coming more and more to the realization that the fate of our country depends upon the crushing of Hitlerism now. All popular polls indicate this. The support to the Administration measures in the war against Hitler show this. The mass reaction against the treacherous America First Committee and its spokesmen is becoming more militant. The labor movement, throughout the country, is moving swiftly into position as the leading force in the national front against fascism.

The recent state conventions of the AFL and CIO, the California Conference for Action on Civil Rights, the ever-broadening activities around British and Russian War Relief, show that California's organized labor movement and people's organizations are becoming part and parcel of the national unity movement.

These developments placed side-by-side with the tremendous needs in the war itself must inevitably spur us on to greater activity. The military destruction of Hitler's war machine cannot be left to the Soviet Union alone. America must fully take its place in the world line-up against Hitler. But there are still too many obstacles in the way to achieving this. That is why we can welcome the positive developments in the recent weeks in our country toward establishing genuine anti-Hitler national unity; BUT THAT IS ALSO WHY WE MUST DOUBLE AND TREBLE OUR EFFORTS ALONG ALL FRONTS.

Our Party has a very special role in the forging of the anti-fascist national front. We are the guardians of the economic welfare, civil liberties and national independence of our country. We must bring clarity to the developing mass movement, giving impetus to the mass actions of the people. Our independent activities are a spur to all anti-fascist actions.

Our Party can best prove itself capable of such leadership in California by first of all fulfilling all plans adopted at the plenum in July—extending the influence of our Party, carrying on extensive educational activities among the people—in the elections, war relief activities, in defense activities, in all campaigns—building the Party by the enrollment of hundreds of new members; supporting The People's World, the greatest and most consistent anti-fascist newspaper on the West Coast; guaranteeing a steady flow of our abundantly rich and vital anti-fascist and communist literature to the people.

Our brothers in the great Red Army of the Soviet Union are giving their lives by the thousands. As we read the daily newspaper accounts of that savage attack against the land of Socialism, we may well ask ourselves the question: Are we doing all we can do? Are we, members of the Communist Party, individually and collectively doing all in our power to hasten the collapse of the fascist regime?

The greatest battles of all the history of humankind are being fought today. We in California want to take our place in the front rank of the forming battle-lines. **This is our war. We must fight to make America fully conscious of its great, historic responsibility in the war to crush Hitlerism.**

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Not an Idle Man!

Not an Idle Machine!

Not an Idle Acre!

PROGRAM FOR VICTORY!

New York State Communist Party

Election Platform 1942

ENCLOSURE
10-1-3-4-42

EVERYTHING TO WIN THE WAR

41-7551-2-5584 Copy A
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#29

Program for Victory!

1942 ELECTION PLATFORM
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CALIFORNIA

Adopted at the State Convention of the Communist Party held at State Capitol, Sacramento, September 17, 1942

OPEN A SECOND FRONT NOW!

X-HX 81 #30

New York's Wartime Election

Keynote Address delivered at the Convention of the New York State Communist Party, August 29, 1942.

By Gilbert Green

3c

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THE EAST SIDE

Literature Bulletin

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VOL. 1, NO. 1 MAY 12th, 1942

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#31

THE SECOND FRONT!

The Second Front, by Robert Minor, price 5 cents, is the report made by the Acting Secretary of the Communist Party before a meeting of its National Committee. It provides the most rounded out analysis to date of the question of the necessity for major offensive operations against the Axis in the form of a second European Front this Summer. While this is the central theme of the pamphlet, it includes valuable material on other major problems growing out of the war. This is a KEY pamphlet and merits exceptionally WIDE distribution. Send your orders in NOW!

Mr. President, FREE EARL BROWDER!

Mr. President, Free Earl Browder!, price 5 cents, is a new pamphlet, published by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, which provides new ammunition in the nation-wide campaign to free the great anti-fascist champion. It sets forth the next steps in the struggle for Browder's freedom, following the recent historic national Free Earl Browder Congress which it describes with a stirring, running comment on the distringuished speakers, telegrams, resolutions, etc., which poured in from all parts of the country, from foreign lands, and from ships at sea. Altogether it makes a stirring appeal for Earl Browder's release from prison. This is a pamphlet which ought to reach every trade unionist, as well as fraternal, church and other organizations of the people. Ready NOW! Order NOW!

REVELATIONS FROM INSIDE ITALY

Inside Italy! by M. Ercoli, price 5 cents, with an introduction by Peter V. Cacchione, Councilman of New York City, is a pamphlet which will help considerably to strengthen our national unity by drawing all sections of the Italian American people into the War Effort. Here is a pamphlet which our Italian concentration branches should leap at, in order to help them dispel the fog of confusion instilled into the minds of the more backward sections of the workers of Italian extraction during long years of fascist demagogy. It reveals the hatred which the people of Italy feel toward the criminal war into which the Mussolini regime dragged them. This pamphlet is the only news of the fight of the Italian people in Italy and indicates the only path which can lead to their freedom. Order NOW!

JUST PUBLISHED! HAVE YOU ORDERED?

The Collected Works of Lenin Volume XIX	$2.50
Napoleon in Russia, By E. Tarle	.10
The Molotov Paper on Nazi Atrocities	.05
History of the Shorter Work Day, by Labor Res. Assoc.	.10

Order NOW! Available NEXT WEEK!

A popular 35 cent edition of Anna Louise Strong's Book. "The Soviets Expected It ", with a new final chapter which brings the book right up to the minute. (Good for those friends of yours in the Armed forces).

anna addin 5/14/4

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE [redacted]

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE, 121 HAIGHT STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

UNDERHILL 9335

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#32

October 29, 1942

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TO ALL COUNTIES

Dear Comrades:

"VICTORY--AND AFTER"

You will be glad to know that "VICTORY -- AND AFTER" will be in your County during the first week of November. This means that plans and activity around the book should be rushed as quickly as possible.

We are certain that your County Committee has already discussed and outlined tentative plans on the basis of the letter sent you last week. In addition to posters, cuts, etc. which will be sent to you upon arrival, we are rushing off the press a Branch Pledge blank which should be introduced into Branches without delay. A few minutes devoted to the book and to the taking of pledges, as well as to the collection of funds for as many copies as possible, will greatly stimulate the sales of the book. No extended reviews of the book should be planned at this time. At the same time, you will receive copies of a publicity folder for selected contacts, for mailing, etc.

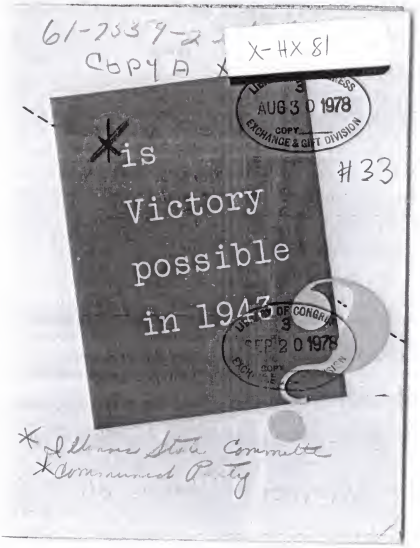
Next Wednesday's or Thursday's edition of the People's World will carry a review of the book by Comrade Schneiderman. Also, the November issue of the Communist will carry the review of the book by Comrade Landy.

As quickly as the books arrive, we will forward to you at once ONE HALF of your quota. The second half will be sent to you approximately two weeks later. The books will not be returnable and each County Organizer will be held responsible for the conduct of the campaign, for the condition of the books, finances, etc.

We are very anxious to hear of your plans.

Comradely,

STATE ORG-ED COMMITTEE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*is
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Call to a Convention

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of the

NEW YORK COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY

Sunday, June 13th, 1943

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10:00 A.M. Sharp

PARK PALACE

5 West 110th Street

New York City

Issued by
NEW YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY
147 Fourth Avenue
New York City

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"Out of the Way — We Want Victory!"

X-HX81

A CONSPIRACY AGAINST OUR SOVIET ALLY

#36

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A Menace to America

By EARL BROWDER

I WISH to speak about the Ehrlich-Alter case *in the United States.* This case originates in a conspiratorial effort of American citizens, organized on American soil, to overthrow the government of the Soviet Union, an Ally of the United States, at a moment when our own government has declared the defense of the Soviet Union is vital to the national interests of the United States. The Government of the United States had pledged itself to the Soviet Union, in the agreement of December, 1933, that it would prevent the operation from United States soil of any organization directed toward the overthrow of the government of the Soviet Union. But the U.S. government has closed its eyes to this conspiracy, has tolerated its continued operation, and now permits a mass campaign in this country in defense of the conspiratorial agents who were apprehended and executed in the Soviet Union.

We do not know the evidence upon which a Soviet court condemned Ehrlich and Alter. But we have enough evidence of the conspiracy in the United States, of which Ehrlich and Alter were agents, to confirm the findings of the Soviet court.

If Ehrlich and Alter were true to the teachings and decisions of those men in the United States who are their sponsors, then we know that they

Italian-Americans—

What Lies Ahead for Italy?

X-HX81

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The Italian people are reduced to hunger. Thousands are torn from their homes and families to become German slave laborers. Italian soldiers have died on the desert sands of North Africa. Debt, inflation and the black market is the plight of Italy today. Italy is no longer an independent country.

Inside Italy, Italian anti-fascist patriots set an example for the Italian people. In the Fiat plant in Turin, workers braved death to organize a strike of 30,000 under the slogan of *Long Live Peace.* The largest German munitions dumps in the city of Naples were set ablaze by courageous Italians. Groups of the National Front in Triest, Venice and Giulia concluded an agreement with the guerrillas of Croatia and Slovenia on mutual aid and struggle against Mussolini. It is a credit to the Italian soldiers that they refuse to fight for Mussolini because they know they are not fighting for the Italian people.

Seeing the anger of the people, Mussolini resorts to the bloodiest terror. He knows that the Allied invasion will forever end Italian fascism. The Allied armies, in which are included your sons and brothers, will aid the Italian people to free themselves from their Italian and German oppressors.

President Roosevelt assures the Italian people that the United Nations would guarantee them the right to form a government of their own choosing, so long as it were not fascist or Nazi, and made an honorable peace with the United Nations. The President made clear that the United Nations differentiates between the people of Italy and their fascist slave-masters. He warned that the United Nations had no other choice but that of waging war against fascism until complete victory.

ITALIAN AMERICANS:

Rally around the President's appeal to the Italian people.

Italian anti-fascists, unite!

Isolate those forces who seek to disrupt unity!

Put aside all differences to help the Italian people overthrow Mussolini and get out of the war.

Victory of the United Nations means victory and independence for all freedom-loving people.

Stand Behind Our Commander-in-Chief for Victory in 1943!

STREET MEETINGS EVERY FRIDAY, 7:45 P.M., 29th St. and 2nd Ave.

MIDTOWN CLUB
Communist Party, 12th A. D.
132 East 26th Street

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR PETITION CANVASSERS

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Who May Circulate Petition

Any voter of the state who has registered for an election or a first voter who will be 21 years on or before November 2, 1943.

Who May Sign Petition

Any citizen who resides in the Borough of Manhattan and who registered for the 1942 election. A canvasser should not sign as a petitioner on a sheet to which he will be the witness.

FOLLOW THESE SIMPLE RULES CAREFULLY

1. Have a pen with you. Signatures should be written in ink.
2. The signer need sign only his name. The canvasser can fill in the date and the addresses.
3. See that the voter signs his full first name. NOT initials- thus JOHN jones not J. Jones. No nick-names - thus Michael , not mike.
4. A woman should sign her own first name- thus mary Jones, not Mrs. John Jones.
5. Do not erase. If a mistake has been made, cross out the signature and use another line.
6. Canvasser completes the date and adresses. Note that two addresses are required; (1) the present address, and (2) address from which voter registered in 1942. Fill in both columns even if both addresses are the same.
7. At all times canvasser should be equipped with campaign literature to leave with signers such as material on our candidate the Daily Worker or Worker or Browders Victory and After or a leaflet .

61-7559-2-4638
X-HX 81

X- HX 81

#39

Postmasters: Send Form 3578 To 307 Tontine Ave., Lyndhurst, N. J.

THE WORLD COMMUNITY

E Pluribus Unum

THE WORLD COMMUNITY represents a new and eager engagement in the age-loog struggle for liberty, equality, justice, fraternity. It is non partisan, non-sectarian, serving the interest of no special sector of humanity, but containing certain local notes of particular interest to the bulk of subscribers. To the limit of its influence, its purpose is to foster universal good. Its message is WORLD COMMUNITY, THE WAY OUT OF WORLD CHAOS. Material in this journal is not copyrighted and may be used freely for the promotion of unity and coosciousness of the brotherhood of mao under the common Fatherhood of God. If quoted, please acknowledge and forward repriot to the publisher. Articles appearing herein, unless so stated, are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies of the WORLD COMMUNITY MOVEMENT.

Subscription price, twenty-five cents per year; foreign, fifty cents. Entered as second class matter August 22, 1940, at the post office at Rutherford, New Jersey, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. IV | MARCH, 1943 | No. 2

Published Monthly Except July, August and September, By Gross Wilbur Alexander For and In the Interest of The

World Community Movement

The Way Out of World Chaos

Office of Publication: 307 Tontine Ave., Lyndhurst, N. J.

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THE KEY PROBLEM IN AMERICAN POLITICS

By EARL BROWDER

From the proceedings of a luncheon meeting of the Wranglers Club, February 15, 1943, at the Co-Op Cafeteria, Irving Place, New York City, Gross W. Alexander presiding

MR. EARL BROWDER: Gentlemen, Friends: I am always glad to talk to serious thinking people. Due to great pressure of work, I came here without specific preparation for what I want to say to you today. Therefore, it will be a rather informal and perhaps somewhat disorganized presentation.

Super-Political Control

The thought which I want to present is the importance of clarifying certain relationships within our domestic political life in America, if our country is to play its proper role in the reorganization of the world as the result of victory in this war. I believe that it is possible for the United States to make a very great contribution to the welfare of the world and, of course, to our own future. But I think that there are obstacles in the way of this which are not yet generally recognized and to which I want to call attention.

To come as directly as possible to the central point, let me refer to the Congressional Committee headed by Martin Dies, which has just received a new mandate from Congress and which clearly is intended to continue its work in this next crucial period with the same spirit in which it has worked for the past four years. This Dies Committee is not yet understood in its full signifiance by the country. And when a Communist speaks against the Dies Committee, this is usually interpreted as sort of a self-defensive measure on the part of the Communists because Dies advertises himself as the Communist-baiter, par excellence. But it is in no spirit of defense of any special interests of the Communists that I want to speak. I want to call your attention to the Dies Committee in its functions as a menace to our nation as a whole, as a poisoner of the political and intellectual life of our country, as an agent for propagation of the basic ideas of Hitlerism, and as a menace to the future world order.

Is it really a peculiar interest of Communists to combat an institution which speaks in the name of our Government, which propagates the idea and creates the psychosis in the country that puts every decent man on the defensive, if he is accused by any loud-mouthed demagogue of being a Communist or of associating with them? That is the situation we have in our country, which is supported, endorsed and put forward by the majority in the House of Representatives.

The Dies Committee in Relation to International Problems

Let's see what that means in relation to the international problems of the United States today. American armed forces are preparing to enter Europe, to liberate the nations occupied by the Nazis. In each and every one of these nations we will have to establish relations with the population we are liberating, and in each and every one of those nations the democratic forces of the people are organizing themselves in conscious collaboration with, and inclusion of, the Communists of those countries. If, in America, communism is outlawed and made an object of suspicion, discrimination, organized attacks by Congressional committees, witch hunts, and so on, how can this country, which has thus demonstrated a fear of a small group of Communists in the United States, have the proper relations with the peoples in Europe where they will be dealing with strong Communist elements in those populations? Or, are we going to have one policy for our domestic life in the United States and a different policy for Europe with relation to Communists?

Take France

To make the question a little more concrete, what are we going to do in relation to France? Our armies may be in France within a few weeks. The French people are organizing their own armed struggle against the Germans today within France, on the basis of an all-inclusive national front of the organized collaboration of everyone ready to fight Hitler—from extreme conservatives to Communists. The Communists are definitely included in the organized leadership of the movement. Not that they have any monopoly of the leadership. They are included. General deGaulle has just included in his Council a French Communist Deputy, Fernand Grenier, as the official representative of the French Communists. It is generally agreed by conservative observers that the French Communist Party today is the strongest political organization within France, in the sense of an operating organization with mass support.

Now, how can the United States of America have a correct attitude toward that national front of the French people that includes the Communists if we have an organized Congressional institution backed up by laws and public attitude which outlaws communism? It is clear we cannot. We will either have a correct attitude in France (which contradicts our own attitude at home), or (if we are consistent with our attitude at home), we will suppress with our arms the liberation movement of the French people, or force it to expel from its midst the organized French Communists which means to disrupt the whole French democracy.

Clearly, that is impossible, because even General Giraud has now endorsed the policy of DeGaulle in the inclusion of the Communists in the national front; and when such conservative representatives of France join hands with the Communists, it is clear that the only logical answer to the situation in France is either to deal with the Communists as a recognized party of the community there, or to substitute pure and simple military occupation of France by American troops

"No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.

"If there is anything in the universe that can't stand discussion, let it crack!" —*Wendell Phillips*

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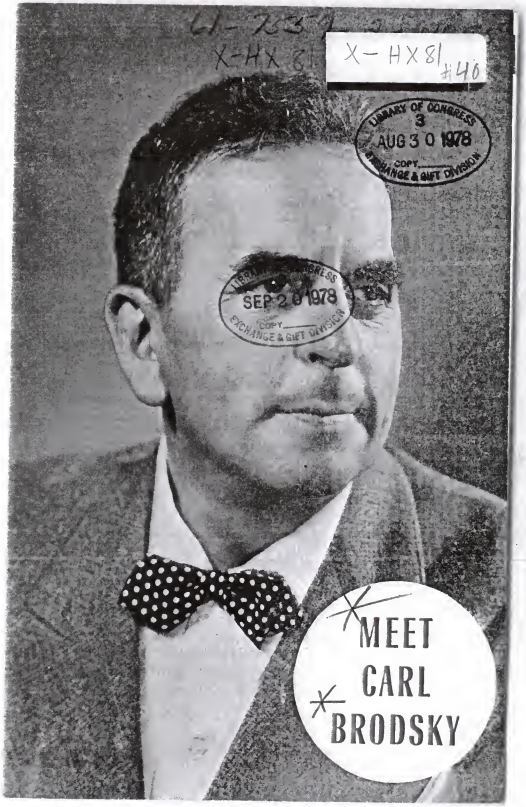

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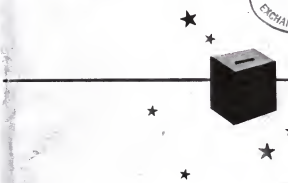

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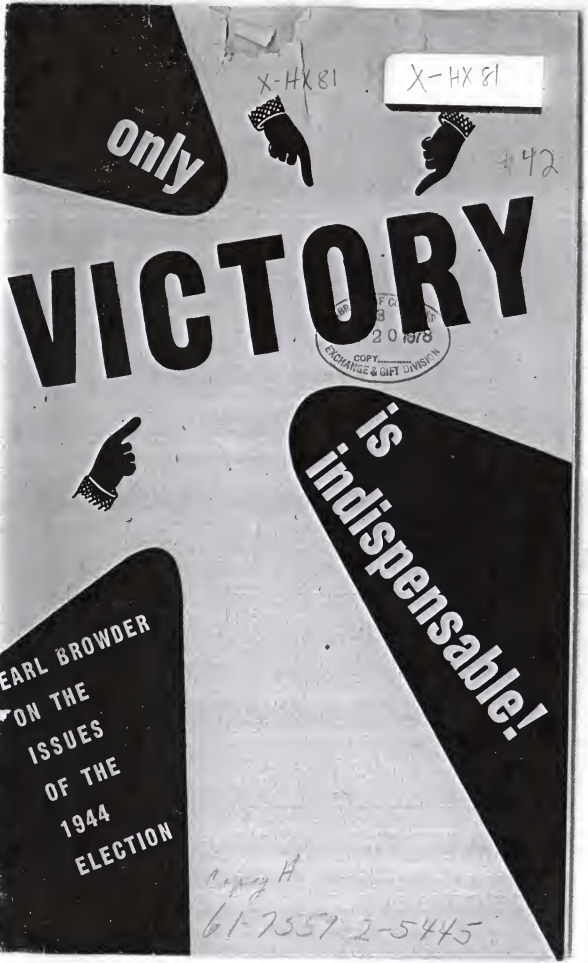
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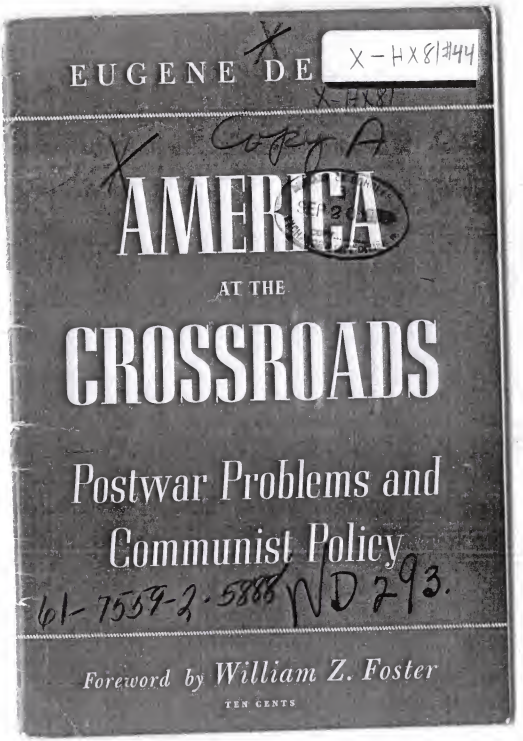
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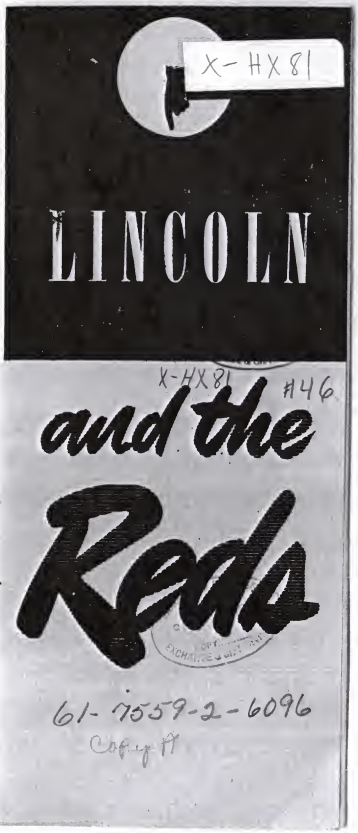
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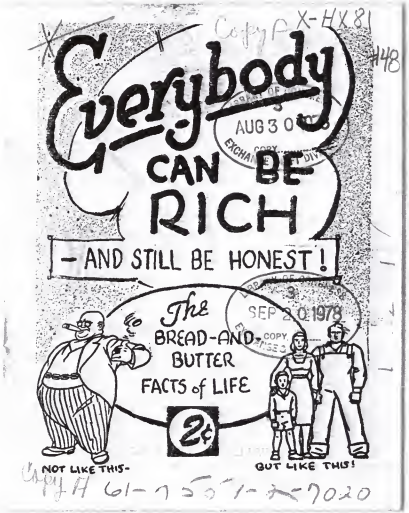
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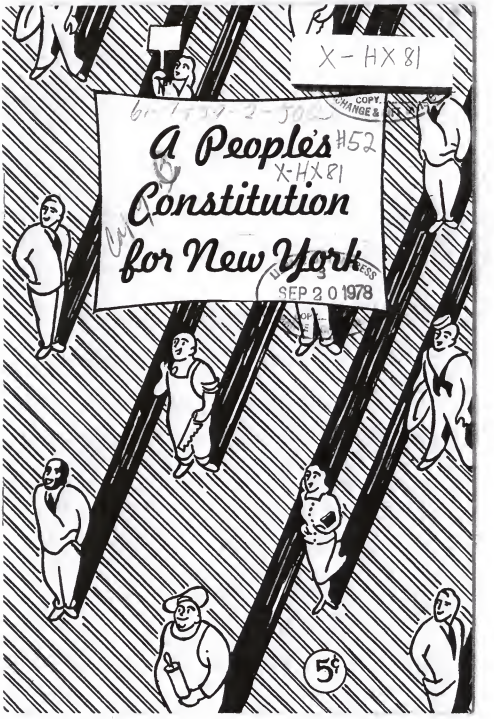
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PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION

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WORKERS AGE PUBLISHERS

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WHY THE WORKERS OF YOUNGSTOWN SHOULD ELECT COMMUNIST CANDIDA

BECAUSE:

1) The "New Deal" government has kept none of its promises to the workers. Steel Trust profits are higher than they have been in years, while the conditions of the steel workers are as bad as they were under Hoover. #15

2) Unemployment is growing here and throughout the country, but in spite of this relief allottment in Mahoning County is LESS this month than it was last month and thousands suffer from undernourishment.

3) The so-called "right to organize" promised by Roosevelt has meant in practise the right of the Corporations to force the workers to join Company Unions and to fire those who opposed them. The National Labor Board, the NRA and every so-called "impartial" board appointed by Roosevelt has acted FOR the companies and AGAINST the workers (as in Weirton, Minneapolis, Detroit, Textile Strike, the New Steel Labor Board, etc). and Rep. and Dem. Governors send troops against all strikers.

4) These above facts PROVE that, altho the Democrats talk about the "forgotten man", in deeds they are a Party of Big Business, like the Republicans. Talk is cheap. But in deeds they proved they are AGAINST the workingman, the small farmer, the small home owner, the veteran.

5) Because to vote for any other canidates except Communists is to vote against YOUR interests and FOR the interests of the Steel Trust.

WHO ARE THE LOCAL CANDIDATES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

JOE DALLET for CONGRESS--steel worker--leader in the Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union--the only union leader in Youngstown who exposed the NRA from the very beginning as a weapon against the workers--active in the preparations for strike on June 16th--fighter for the UNITED ACTION of ALL STEEL WORKERS regardless of union or political affiliation.

BEN GRAY for STATE SENATOR-- militant young worker--leader in the Unemployment Council, the organization which is winning water, more relief, and other concessions for the unemployed and part-time workers, and which is fighting now for 25% relief increases and UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

CHARLES "CHICK" WELCHER for COUNTY COMMISSIONER--Negro worker who is tired with false promises from the politicians and who is taking an active part in the fight of the Negro people against Jim-Crowing, discrimination, etc., and also in the fight for higher unemployed relief.

DOMINIC JOHNJULIO for SHERIFF--Italian-American mill worker, bricklayer and veteran-- an anti-fascist fighter-- a strong man for labor's rights.

COURTNEY WALKER for STATE REP.-- Negro laborer, long active in the fight for higher relief--a leader in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

HANNAH BLUMENTHAL for STATE REP.--former public school teacher--known to thousands for her untiring efforts as a leader of the International Labor Defense in the fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney, the innocent Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herdon and other framed-up workers.

STEVE HERRIN for STATE REP.--Negro mill worker--known and respected in his community for his strong stand in defense of workers' rights.

These candidates, and these candidates alone, represent the interests of the workers. They have already proved in the struggle that they can be depended on. They have the courage of their convictions. They not only talk but fight for the interests of the working people. ELECT THEM!

DEFEAT THE DEMOCRATIC & REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES OF THE STEEL TRUST!

VOTE FOR YOUR INTERESTS! VOTE COMMUNISTS! ELECT COMMUNISTS NOV. 6!

Issued by Communist Campaign Headquarters--513 W.Federal St., Youngstown

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TO THE DELEGATES AT THE CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEW

The I.L.D. Fraction wants to take this opportunity to raise some defense questions that concern every Party member.

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1. THE POSITION OF THE PARTY ON BUILDING THE ILD - Quoting from Comrade Browder's report to the November Plenum of the C.C.:

"It is not very often that we speak of the defense problems at the Plenums of the Central Committee. Very often we only bring such questions to the C.C. when we have complaints to make in regard to the handling of some matter by the ILD. The ILD, in the period of its existence, and especially in the last year or two, has won for itself the admiration and support of wide circles of workers, farmers, middle class, and professional groups. It has performed with the small forces at its disposal what can be called miracles. When we consider the constantly increasing problems with which it is confronted, such as terror against the masses in various localities in the South, in California, in some sections of the Middle West, we can say that it is nothing short of a miracle that the ILD has been able to meet this great mountain of problems with its small resources. Just to mention the Scottsboro case, the Herndon case, the Sacramento case, the Burlington cases, the Gallup cases, which the ILD has recently had to conduct, is to show the tremendous problems facing the defense."

And he further stated, "..... We must now try to find the road to a united labor defense to include Socialists, Communists, liberals - all those who fight for civil liberties and workers' rights, against injustice and capitalist frame-up. The fact that this issue was the subject of heated debate at the last American Federation of Labor Convention is further proof that conditions are ripe for such an organization, in which the ILD should become an organic part. As far as we Communists are concerned, we declare that we are ready to throw all our influence to such a unification movement in the field of labor defense."

We quote from Comrade Dimitroff's speech to the 7th World Congress:

"The ILD is now faced with the tremendous task of becoming a genuine mass organization of toilers in all capitalist countries (particularly in fascist countries, in accordance with the special conditions of these countries). It must become so to speak, a kind of 'Red Cross' of the united front of the proletariat and the anti-fascist people's front embracing millions of toilers, the 'Red Cross' of the army of the toiling classes fighting against fascism, for peace and Socialism."

"And here it must be stated definitely and sharply that if bureaucracy, and a heartless attitude to people in the working class movement is disgusting in general, then in the sphere of activity of the ILD it borders on crime."

The Party Fraction in the ILD has been very strenuously attempting to carry through this line of the party. We have been very successful in a number of united front actions of defense issues. In Harlem and in Buffalo beginnings have been made to set up united front defense organizations. The ILD has been able to work very closely with socialist organizations on defense issues. Our main difficulty this time is our lack of forces in the localities and neighbor-

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PARTY STATEMENT

Issued by the Central Executive Committee as a Result of the FIRST PARTY COUNCIL Assembled in December

THREE important events have closed a period in the development of the Party. These three events are the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, the Chicago Railway Conference and the Second Convention of the LPP. If we draw the balance of this period, we will find that, since the Party convention, the Party has had several political victories. As a result of the correct policies laid down by the CEC, the Party is a unit and is no longer isolatedn from the American labor movement.

There is every possibility of making our Party a powerful political factor in the United States.

If we observe the political situation with open eyes, we must confirm the fact that, despite the good policies adopted by the CEC, the Party as a party, has not proven equal to the task. Our political ideas were good, but they were not carried into realization. In spite of all efforts of the CEC, it was not possible to mobilize the Party for any of our campaigns.

The Defence campaign was a success politically, because we could win over a large number of trade unions; but organizationally it was a failure because the Party, as an organization, participated in the campaign to but a small extent.

The Labor Party campaign was politically a big success, for the LPP won the co-operation of the Farmer-Labor Party, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and various farmer organizations; but we did not succeed in getting the Party itself into the Labor Party campaign. The worst example was set by New York, where a "mass meeting" of 600 people took place as the apex of the Labor Party campaign, and after the Cleveland Conference only 200 people represented a "mass meeting". It must be remembered that the LPP has a membership of 3,000 in New York City!

The campaign for amalgamation was politically a tremendous success. No less than eleven State federations of labor, representing about 25 per cent. of organized labor of this country, declared themselves ideologically for amalgamation; organizationally, however, we had a fearful failure, for, as we could not mobilize our Party forces, we were not able to occupy all the strategic points, and there is danger that the amalgamation movement, which is growing more and more powerful from day to day, will get out of control.

In a word: in the Defense, Labor Party and Amalgamation campaigns, [illegible]re was every possibility of good political success, but very great even [illegible]structive failure from an organizational standpoint.

The CEC feels compelled to enlighten the Party members on these [illegible]estions with perfect frankness. We declare most emphatically that organizationally our Party has been a failure, so that now we must issue the slogan: "BUILD THE PARTY".

We must analyze the reasons for this failure.

It would be a mistake to believe that our Party could not be mobilized because it is an underground party. It is a mistake to believe that a Communist Party cannot be mobilized, as the centrists claim. That is not true, as an analysis will show that during this time we could perform all political work openly, and that the LPP daily is functioning more and more completely as an open Communist party. Evidences of this latter fact are:

1. The entire political administration and the whole political work of the LPP are Communistic. 2. The LPP is now connected with the Communist International through fraternal representation. 3. The LPP adopted a good Communist program at its convention. 4. The LPP is regarded not only by the authorities as a Communist party, but by the workers as well. 5. Through the LPP we have had full possibilities of propagating the Communist ideology.

During this whole period, the CEC, in accordance with the Convention decision, has consciously acted on the idea that every chance for open work should be taken advantage of. For that reason, we not only consciously aimed at making the LPP a Communist party, but also determined that the industrial department of the Party should be an open institution. Before the large masses of American workers we openly stated in our Labor Day Manifesto that the underground form of Party organization is not a dogma for us, but a bitter necessity.

The real causes of the organizational failure of the Party, however, are as follows:

1. The Party apparatus is too cumbersome. This defect has had a most harmful effect on all Party actions.

2. The groups are removed too many steps from the CEC. As a result, instructions sent by the CEC at times have not reached the groups for three or four weeks. Innumerable examples could be given, but two will suffice. Instructions regarding the mobilization of the Party forces against the split threatened in the LPP by a certain federation did not reach a section organizer in District ½ till long after the controversy was settled. The instructions in regard to the Labor Party reached the Party membership after it had been taken up in the LPP.

3. Our groups are too small. Group meetings have degenerated, and it is a most rare event when a full meeting occurs.

4. The very often exaggerated dualism between the Party and the LPP doubles the work. Meetings of the Party units are [illegible] in

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Report of the Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy (112 E. 19th St., New York City) which was held at Forest Park, Pa., on June 27th, 1930, (Camp Tamiment).

At this Conference, the following papers were read (copies of which are in our Files):

"Too Much Ballyhoo in Organized Religion" ~~Vladeck~~ - by B.C. Vladeck, Manager of Jewish Daily Forward. (1 Page - Legal Cap)

Address of Professor Karl Scholz of the University of Pennsylvania, on "The Property Taxation Racket". (5 Pages - Legal Cap)

"Modern Business Making Work Folly", Norman Thomas Declares; "Divorce of Ownership and Responsibility in Industry, Stock and Land Speculation Held Responsible." (4 Pages - Legal Cap)

"Nepotism, Excessive Salaries, Extravagant Overhead and an Excessive Rate of Lapses Laid to Insurance Companies",by Abraham Epstein. (1 Page, Legal Cap)

Tammany "Riding for a Fall", Morris Hillquit Declares; Tells Industrial Democracy Conference New York is center of Outstanding Political and Economic Rackets. (3 Pages, Legal Cap)

Tariff Denounced as an Immense Racket, by Dr. Wilcox of Swarthmore College; Flexible Clause Called Fraud In Address at Industrial Democracy Conference. (5 Pages, Legal Cap)

Private Ownership of Electric Industry Cost Consumes Additional $250,000,000 in 1930, H.S. Raushenbush Declares. (1 Page, Legal Cap)

Five Percent of Population Connected with 200 "Rackets" Now Being Plied In the Nation, Sullivan Declares At Industrial Democracy Conference (Edward Dean Sullivan, Journalist and Student of Criminology. (6 Pages, Legal Cap)

"Pyramiding Land Values", Address of James R. Brown, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. (4 Pages, Legal Cap)

Labor Movement Beset with Dishonest Rackets, Noted Trade Union Authority Declares; Prof. Saposs Charges "Dishonest and Unprincipled" Leaders Mulct Industry as well as Their Followers. (5 Pages, Legal Cap)